

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 836

July 4, 1952

FOURPENCE

## Plans for world referendum

From George R. Grasser

**T**HE World Federation of United Nations Associations may make history this summer when it meets to consider sponsorship of a World Peace Referendum.

In Geneva, Switzerland, the home of direct legislation by referendum, WFUNA's Seventh Annual Assembly convenes on September 1.

Delegates from all over the world will be able to observe at first hand the peace, prosperity and progress that can come to a nation when its people decide major issues by majority vote.

Switzerland's use of the referendum for the past hundred years is a successful "experiment" in political science that cannot be ignored today—when all the people of the world yearn to live like the Swiss, in peace and plenty.

The referendum resolution initiated by the United Nations Association of Jamaica (British West Indies) would make it possible for the peoples of all nations to vote on the issues of peace or war.

They would be given the democratic opportunity to answer "Yes" or "No" on the deadly decisions of international inspection of reduced armaments, outlawing atomic and germ warfare, and Peking representation for China in the United Nations.

Ten national United Nations Associations (voluntary organisations dedicated to peace and perpetuation of the UN) have endorsed or befriended the referendum resolution held over from last year's Assembly.

On both sides of the "Iron Curtain," they are: India, Israel, Jamaica, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Denmark, Australia and the United Kingdom.

### More powerful than H-bomb

If the WFUNA Assembly passes the referendum resolution it will set the stage for the first world-wide vote in recorded human history.

It is predicted by a US Government official that the first hydrogen bomb (now being manufactured by both America and Russia) will have an explosive effect greater than the total of all bombs used in World War II.

But a majority vote of the world's people for peace would be a mandate more powerful than the hydrogen bomb.

As the Jamaica UNA puts it: "What government will dare to lead its people into a war against which they have registered their sovereign vote?"

The Jamaica organisation has published a list of Britons who have endorsed or expressed interest in the World Peace Referendum; among them are: Lord Boyd Orr, Alan W. de Bussell, John St. John, The Very Reverend, The Dean of Canterbury, Professor J. B. Bernal, Olive Murphy, The Duke of Bedford, R. S. Nehra, C. W. Judd, Gordon Schaffer, Mrs. Olive M. Jackson, Percy W. Bartlett and John A. Stead.

It is hoped that the whole British people will join the people of the whole world in urging all United Nations Associations to instruct their delegates to vote for a World Peace Referendum.

Write or cable to the following United Nations Associations: in England, 25 Charles St, W1, London; USA, 45 East 65th St, New York 21; and World Federation of United Nations Associations, 1 Avenue de la Paix, Geneva, Switzerland.

## TRAFALGAR SQUARE

Sunday July 6 at 3 p.m.

Protest against German rearmament!

**EMRYS HUGHES, MP**  
**Dr. ALEX COMFORT**  
**VICTOR YATES, MP**  
**STUART MORRIS**  
**ROBERT HORNIMAN**  
(A YOUNG FATHER)  
**MONA BENTIN**  
(A YOUNG MOTHER)  
**SAM WALSH**  
(AN EX-SERVICEMAN)  
**Chairman SYBIL MORRISON**  
**THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION**  
6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

## WHAT NEXT IN KOREA?

### A policy for the Labour Party

By Emrys Hughes, MP

**T**HE feeling that prevails in the Labour Party in the House of Commons following the bombing of the power plants on the Yalu river is much stronger than the resolution which the Executive of the Party placed on the Order Paper.

I believe there is now a strong and growing public opinion that wants to see the termination of the war and the recognition of the fact that intervention in Korea must now be recognised as a major blunder on the part of the United Nations.

Of course it is not easy to get the official leaders of the Labour Party to agree to this. For it was their blunder and they must bear their share of the responsibility for going into Korea and for sending our soldiers there and for what happened when Labour was in office.

### No longer police action

But having made these mistakes it is up to the Labour Party to recognise the facts about Korea.

## Africans sing as they go to prison

**T**HE African and Indian non-violent resistance movement to Apartheid, which began last week, has begun successfully, completely non-violent discipline being maintained.

The plan has been to start with some 200 offences a week in the main centres and progressively increase the number of offences.

About 170 arrests were made during the opening days on the Rand and in Port Elizabeth.

Four more leaders, have been arrested. They are Mr. Walter Sisulu, secretary-general of the African National Congress; Mr. Ram Sita, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress; Mr. Nelson Mandela, president of the Youth Congress of the African National Congress; and Mr. C. M. Dube, joint secretary of the South African Indian Congress.

### "Come back Africa"

In Port Elizabeth the defiance took the form of crossing the railway bridge reserved for Europeans. This happened at 7 a.m. On the station platform they were met by a party of police, had a discussion, and sang with the native passengers of an incoming train "Mayibuyee e Afrika" ("Come back Africa"). Then the demonstrators went past the police. When the Africans came to the other side of the bridge there were several vans parked and all were arrested. There was no violence. The whole incident lasted about ten minutes.

On the Rand an attempt by the Joint Action Committee of the African (Transvaal) and the Transvaal Indian Congress to defy the Urban Areas Act by entering the Boksburg location without a permit was thwarted by the municipal authorities ordering the wire gates to be shut just as 50 volunteers selected for the demonstration were about to enter.

Mr. W. M. Sisulu, secretary general of the African National Congress, led. The organisers of the demonstration had not expected this action. A letter was handed by N. R. Mandela, president of the Indian Congress, to the assistant magistrate in Boksburg which read as follows:

"We have been directed by the Joint Action Committee to advise you that in the terms of the decisions of the Congress the persons named in the attached list will defy the permit regulations and deliberately court imprisonment by entering Boksburg Location at 2.30 p.m. without obtaining the necessary permits." Later a big crowd of Africans collected at Boksburg Location. They moved to one side of the road as the police lined up in front of the gates. Captain van der Merwe walked over and told them he was placing them all under arrest. They went singing into the back of the truck and were driven off to the police station.

In the early days of the war Mr. Attlee in reply to my questions refused to call it a war at all. War was too ugly a name. It was a police action to prevent war.

After two years we know what it is. This has been one of the most cruel and destructive wars in history: the country which we went to liberate has been almost destroyed and frightful suffering inflicted on the civilian population.

It is not enough to deplore lack of consultation about bombing raids. We must stop the war.

### A new policy

That was why I put the following resolution on the Order Paper.

"That this House condemns the bombing of the electric power stations in Korea as an act that may prolong military operations, result in further casualties or increase the suffering of the civil population of Korea; and urges Her Majesty's

(Continued on page six)

## Borstal for youth who would not fight

**O**N May 7, 19-year-old Laurence Robinson of Birmingham was sent to Borstal by the Birmingham Recorder for refusing medical examination, after his application to be registered as a conscientious objector had been turned down by the tribunals.

This sentence does not allow him to appeal again to a tribunal, as would a prison sentence, and he therefore lodged an appeal against it.

The application for leave to appeal was heard in the Court of Criminal Appeal on Monday, by Lord Goddard, Mr. Justice Croom-Johnson and Mr. Justice Parker.

Laurence Robinson's counsel, Mr. M. N. McElligott, referred to the case of Peter Green of East Ham, who was sent to Borstal in 1948, and whose sentence was varied by Lord Goddard on appeal to 12 months' imprisonment.

Sentence of Borstal training, says the Criminal Justice Act, may be passed when a court is satisfied that it is expedient for the reformation of the offender and the prevention of crime.

Their Lordships had no hesitation in granting leave to appeal, but the Lord Chief Justice warned counsel: "He will have to take his chance of what we give him."

Counsel also asked the Court to allow Robinson to be released on bail, but this was refused, Lord Goddard remarking, "Another week will do him no harm."

It is expected that the appeal will be heard on July 7 or 14, and, if Laurence Robinson, is sent to prison, he will then apply for a Review Tribunal. But he has already lost his job with the Post Office, where he was employed as an engineering trainee.

## ARMED GUARDS TURN OUT FOR PACIFISTS

### Demonstration in East Anglia against atom-bomb bases

**E**LABORATE precautions were taken by the US authorities at their air base in Mildenhall, Suffolk, last Saturday when the group of pacifists known as "Operation Gandhi" staged a non-violent demonstration against the building up of bomber bases in Britain.

Fourteen of the nineteen pacifists taking part marched with posters from Mildenhall market place to Beck Row and the main gates of the airfield.

The Mildenhall police and the US Command had been previously notified of the demonstration.

Leaflets announcing the times of the procession and a later open-air meeting were distributed from door-to-door throughout Mildenhall the previous evening by the Cambridge group of the Peace Pledge Union; resulting in a crowd—and one policeman—assembling to see the paraders move off at 12.30 p.m.

### On reconnaissance

About one mile from the main gate of the airfield the procession was met by a reconnoitring military police jeep.

This turned back after sighting the advancing pacifists bearing posters with "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight"; "As bombs pile up, nations get more scared, not less"; "Atomic war is world suicide" and other slogans.

Another jeep established contact with the pacifist column about half a mile from the aerodrome entrance and also turned back to report.

### Tommy-guns, and walkie-talkie

Nearer the aerodrome were a number of soldiers equipped with walkie-talkie radio who reported the passage of the procession.

Military police and guards with Tommy-guns were placed at strategic points along the normally deserted airfield perimeter and at fuel dumps and entrances to various buildings.

Some ten minutes before the procession arrived at the main gates, two pacifists who had gone on in advance, Dorothy Morton and Connie Jones, placed themselves across the main gateway, blocking it completely to all vehicular traffic.

They held up cards which said: "Talking strength means fighting wars"; "Choose non-violence—not bombers."

The paraders marched past the main gateway and the prostrate pacifists, then made a turn through the adjoining Married Quarters and started the return journey.

They found an even larger crowd of watching soldiers and airmen who had turned out of the various buildings attached to the Base. Many of them took snapshots of the first pacifist demonstration against their presence in Britain. Men in the sick bay gave friendly smiles.

An open-air meeting was held in the market place at 4.15 p.m. where a crowd gathered to hear from Hugh Brock and Connie Jones why the pacifists had come to Mildenhall.

The townspeople could not fail to notice that something unusual was taking place. Although the streets were busy with shoppers, Americans were conspicuously absent! The town appeared to be out of bounds for the day.

### "It's time you came"

Along the 2 to 3 mile route to the airfield men and women came to their doors to watch the poster paraders pass.

"That's quite right," said one young man to his mother, as he read one of the posters: "Atomic secrecy breeds fear."

A passing workman called out to the paraders: "It's time you came down here." And it was noticed that the left hand of his bicycle handlebar was held by a hook—not a hand.

### Not anti-American

In notifying the Commanding Officer at Mildenhall aerodrome of their plans, the pacifists wrote:

"We would emphasise that this demonstration is in no unfriendly spirit. We are strongly opposed to 'anti-Americanism'."

The leaflets distributed, which were similar to those used on the occasion of the group's first demonstration outside the War Office in Whitehall, carried a special message to American servicemen.

(A personal account of what took place at the main gate of the airfield, by Connie Jones, appears on page five.)



# PEACE NEWS

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## BRITAIN SHOULD COME OUT OF KOREA

WHEN Nehru says that he is aghast at the bombing of the great hydro-electric station at Huiho on the Yalu river, he expresses the sentiment of all the peoples of the East, and of all decent-minded people in the West who are not disabled in their sense of the fitness of things because they cannot permit themselves the luxury of moral values while we are under commitment to America.

It is possible that what we say in Peace News on this subject could only be said by pacifists.

This does not mean, however, that it is a point of view that is necessarily distinctively pacifist. We believe that it also expresses the sentiments of many who reject pacifism.

If pacifists are able to say these things and not others it is because pacifists feel themselves free of this sense of commitment and are thus able to confront present realities and see them as they are.

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Speaking then not essentially from a pacifist viewpoint but giving expression to the truths relating to the realities that our pacifism permits us to perceive, we say that Great Britain should without delay get out of Korea, and should cease its co-operation with forces under American command.

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Nobody is deceived by the protestation from Washington that a misunderstanding explains the fact that there was no prior consultation with the British Government before those bombing operations took place, and that this flows from the circumstance that the bombing was taken to be a routine operation.

Nothing has happened yet to demonstrate that the Chinese, when they came across the Yalu, were not acting out of a genuine concern for their own protection when a hostile power was on their border.

It must be remembered that America was the declared enemy of the Chinese Government, and anyone who is not completely blinded by the self-righteousness of national egotism can perceive that if the Chinese seek to put their "perimeter of defence" beyond the Yalu River they are making a very modest claim as compared with the Americans who feel it necessary to put theirs beyond the Pacific Ocean.

This has been accepted by the nations endorsing the United Nations' effort, with the exception of America, and there has been a persistent attempt to keep military activities in this area on a moderate and unthreatening basis.

There have been a succession of occasions when the American Command, claiming military necessity, or just acting on the plan of presenting the politicians with the accomplished fact, has tried to relieve itself of this curb.

One of those occasions was when General MacArthur insisted on pushing far beyond the 38th Parallel and thus precipitated the intervention of the Chinese. Another was the horribly callous destruction of a town of 120,000 population on the Yalu when the American Command felt that peace might be coming dangerously near.

Despite these things, however, the great hydro-electric plant has been left alone deliberately, on the recognition that it had a very special character in relation to the life of Manchuria, and was probably a major consideration in bringing about the Chinese intervention.

The decision to bomb it, therefore, twelve months after the beginning of the armistice talks was a very deliberate one, and was as completely different as could be from anything the American air force might be doing as "routine."

It was deliberate and its timing was deliberate also.

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Let us try to examine why the raid was undertaken just at this time.

In the first place, peace was threatening again. The talks at Panmunjom had narrowed down to a single issue of contention: the prisoners.

One of the things that Koje has revealed is that there is much to suspect with regard to the "screening" process that has been undertaken by the Americans and South Koreans (The idea that Syngman Rhee's men should be concerned with screening smacks of nightmare).

Even apart, therefore, from the fact that it was protracting the long-drawn-out truce talks, there was considerable reason for disquiet.

A new attitude was likely to be introduced in regard to this matter that could very well have cleared it out of the way. Then it would be necessary to talk about the future of Korea, about Formosa and about Chiang Kai-shek; all matters that understandably the Americans have shown no great eagerness to bring into the field of discussion.

It must be remembered that while from the British (and the United Nations) standpoint what is happening in Korea and

what is happening in Formosa fall into two different categories, for the Americans they are the same war.

This is one aspect of the matter. Now let us take a look at the immediate bearing of this situation on the American British relationship.

Lord Alexander and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd had just paid a visit to Korea to discuss on the spot the question of American-British relations in the Korean war.

Lord Alexander, who is a soldier and not a politician, has remarked that the bombing of the Yalu power station meets with his approval. He reports, however, that he had not been consulted in the matter; presumably this means also that he had not expressed approval while he was there of any suggestion that it might be done, or at least other than strictly "off the record."

A curious incident that may not be unrelated and that still awaits explanation is the assertion of Mr. Lovett, the American Secretary of Defence, on June 24, that the British Government had been informed. This was afterwards withdrawn.

Is it possible that this may be explained by a misunderstanding as to what Lord Alexander knew about it?

Lord Alexander was due back in London on June 25, two days after the bombing began and the day after its completion.

He was reported to be bringing with him American agreement to the appointment of a British Deputy or a British senior staff officer to be associated with the command in Korea. There would then have been formal contact between the Americans and the British in all major aspects of military operations; and with the known British attitude it would be exceedingly improbable that, without some radical change in the circumstances, he could have given official endorsement to what General Mark Clark proposed to do.

The power station was reduced to a "heap of junk" before Great Britain was put in a position to say its word.

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If, however, one tries to understand the American viewpoint in these matters the impossibility of there being any genuine equal partnership between America and Britain becomes evident.

If there were real United Nations control it would be a different matter: then America would take its place among a number of nations in the reaching of all crucial decisions, and on the question of what should be done beyond the 38th Parallel it is unlikely that American policy would be endorsed.

There has not been from the very beginning, however, any effective control over America's actions, and Great Britain is in the war as an ally—and a very subordinate ally—and not as one of a number of equal partners in an effective world organisation.

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The American Government represents a population more than three times that of Britain; and the command in Korea are naturally very conscious that the war is predominantly an American war.

It is overwhelmingly American men who are fighting the war and American money that is financing it.

The American Command and the US War Department inevitably finds it very unsatisfactory that Great Britain may exercise a veto upon its decisions, for that is what it amounts to in matters of this kind.

It must naturally seem to them that the much less important partner may be exercising a greater degree of control over major policy than the larger one. It therefore seeks ways and means to secure that the nation that is undertaking the major war effort shall have the effective word on major decisions that have to be taken. It had the effective word on June 23.

Great Britain therefore is carried along on a course it does not wish to follow in pursuance of a policy that, except in relation to the circumstances of the outbreak of civil war in Korea, is not its own.

\*

Great Britain would today be taking positive action for the peace of the world if it were to come out of Korea.

Those who insist that we must continue to be associated with what is being done there because we are under a moral obligation to punish aggression, permit themselves to be blinded by this one consideration to many others equally important.

The Korean war is surrounded by more sordid and degrading circumstances than any war during the present century.

From the start, in the operations of the United Nations, unjustifiable violence was

## BEHIND THE NEWS

### American logic

IT is difficult to follow the logic of Mr. Acheson though it is easier to understand his purpose.

France and Britain have not, been strong enough to persuade him of the necessity of an immediate meeting of the Four Powers to discuss the future of Germany.

His speech in Berlin was pessimistic because he does not really want a conference before the ratification of the Contractual Agreement. He said that the responsibility for failure to arrange a conference must lie at the door of those who did not want German elections and German unity.

Since he also spoke of Russian intransigence he was apparently referring to the USSR, though his criticisms are more applicable to America.

It was Russia who called for a meeting of the Four Powers to discuss German unity as an urgent matter twelve months ago.

It was America who insisted on the inclusion of other causes of tension, but then refused to include on the agenda a discussion on NATO and American air basis.

Who is therefore responsible for the failure of that effort?

Who forced through the Contractual Agreement and European Defence Treaty, involving the remilitarisation of Western Germany and the attempt to bind a united Germany in advance into the Western bloc, and thus put their own interests before that of German unity?

Who, on the other hand, again proposed a Four Power meeting and stated clearly their desire for German unity and the need for all-German elections and agreement on the conditions governing them?

Mr. Acheson is condemned by his own logic, for the question is whether to jeopardise ratification for the sake of the Four Power conference or to jeopardise the conference for the sake of ratification.

There can be no doubt as to the American view and they are wrong—dangerously wrong.

There are three possible general attitudes in any dispute: you do what is right, no matter what I do; I will do what is right when you have done what is right; I will do what is right, no matter what you do.

If the first represents the general attitude of the West to the Soviet Union and the second the limit to which Britain and America are prepared to go, it is the third which should represent the British attitude in relation both to Russia and America.

Unfortunately there are all too many who would prefer that we should be wrong in the company of America than right in the company of Russia.

### This is murder

THE full effects of the bombing of the power stations on the Yalu River may not be realised even by those who most deplore the action.

The impairing of communication and the cutting off of power from aerodromes is the least significant result. Thousands of factories in Korea and Manchuria will have to remain idle for months to come.

Imagine what that means with the severity of winter ahead. Not merely the loss of amenities such as lighting and heating in private homes (which would be bad enough), but the loss of all the products of factories deprived of power and unable to turn out clothes, blankets, food, and other absolute necessities.

The bombing has condemned millions of Koreans and Chinese to death from cold or starvation. This is its crime.

There is only one way of reparation, the withdrawal of British troops from Korea

done to any decent conception of judicial procedure in order to give the colour of legalistic validity to a course that America was bent on taking in any case.

Every member of the United Nations Association, for instance, knows that if and when hostilities cease there will have to be an inquest on the procedures that were adopted then to ensure that nothing of the same character may occur in the future.

The sovereignty that we went in to defend was an unsavoury police state, organised on lines of blackguardism and violence by Syngman Rhee and Lee Bum Suk.

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The war has been fought with a callous inhumanity that is a deep disgrace to Western standards.

Even South of the Parallel by far the greater part of the destruction that has been inflicted on the people and their homes and workplaces has been perpetrated by those who claim to be there to defend them.

The whole business has reached a new low level of degradation in the abominations of Koje, deriving at least as much from "UN" Command incompetence and lack of human feeling as from Communist intransigence; and in the renewed demonstration by Syngman Rhee that the Russia of the purge period has nothing to teach him in regard to the method of government by the killing of those who express disagreement.

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It is not a pacifist proposal we make. A government accepting militaristic standards, so long as they do not hold that such standards require the sinking of all moral values, could accept it.

We should come out of Korea.

and a speedy armistice and peace which will enable relief workers to do something to make good the appalling tragedy which must otherwise result.

### This is appeasement

APPEASEMENT generally means policies which attempt to soothe or quieten an opponent and buy time (often at the expense of someone else) as against the policy of reconciliation and the attempt to reach agreement on fundamental points of difference, if necessary at some sacrifice to ourselves.

There is no lack of criticism about the appeasement of potential enemies, but appeasement is just as bad and dangerous when it is directed towards our friends, and British policy in relation to America is one of appeasement.

Even when there is general condemnation of American action, such as the bombing of the power stations in Korea, politicians are content to express disapproval in one sentence and appeasement in the next.

Their purpose indeed has not been to condemn the crime, but to express regret that Britain was not consulted.

The Labour Government was as guilty as any in appeasing America, and in opposition the Labour Party seem more anxious not to offend the USA than to put an end to the fighting in Korea.

They lost the opportunity of really dividing the House on a motion which would have expressed not displeasure but condemnation of the whole policy of appeasement through which we are encouraging the domination of America as surely as we encouraged Hitler.

### American "get tough" and the UN

Whatever may or may not be true about possible Russian aggression, there is unfortunately ample evidence that what endangers peace to-day is the whole trend of American policy.

The comments appropriate to the second anniversary of the outbreak of hostilities in Korea have been based upon the assumption that the North Koreans were solely responsible, that the Americans were taken by surprise and only reacted as they did because they believed that the Soviet Union had to be checked at once.

Though all the information is not available, no one can read such information as has now been published without being forced to the conclusion that the issue is not so simple and that at least the whole responsibility cannot be laid on the North Koreans and that America knew as much, if not more, than Russia.

Those who were anxious to pursue the get-tough policy not only involved America but dragged in the United Nations (who, apart from a few honourable exceptions like India, have allowed America to dominate the scene), set at naught the principles of the Charter, and have taken their share in jeopardising the chance of an armistice and a reasonable peace settlement.

If we are to save the United Nations from disintegration, if we want to stop the crimes which are being committed in the name of UN, if we want peace in Korea, if we want to fulfil our responsibility we must at whatever cost in Anglo-American relations refuse any longer to be a party to their dangerous policy or to share in their ill-starred adventures.

### The threat of the unexploded bomb

THE Alsop brothers, in the New York Herald Tribune recently reported that the United States Government has issued instructions which severely limit access by Russian ships and ships of the Russian satellite nations to American ports and the Panama Canal.

The reason is that any innocent-looking vessel might contain an atomic bomb in its hold, and this would be enough to neutralise a harbour.

The Manchester Guardian comments:

That is obvious enough, and the danger to ports like London, Antwerp, and Bordeaux must be as great as to New York, Boston, and Baltimore. Are we taking it too lightly or is the United States taking it too seriously? The answer is for each country to settle for itself. Sentiment here will, on the whole, be against dramatic measures.

"Dramatic measures" is hardly the right term for the further restriction on reasonable human intercourse that the United States authorities have added to the many other such restrictions they impose.

As the technical development of the destructive powers of atomic energy progresses there will be many more ways than this in which great damage may be wrought by innocent-looking means.

To attempt to deal with these by prohibitions and restrictions on liberty of movement will increasingly make normal life impossible.

Unless we find some way of assimilating the fact of atomic discovery to human ways of living we may be threatened with the destruction of any civilisation worth while through the atomic bomb without the future explosion of one of them.

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I AM adv: African

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# THEY LIKE IT!

—says  
Frankie

I AM happy to report a great advance in our treatment of African peoples.

According to a Reuter message, "Britain has told the United Nations Trusteeship Council that it is prepared to abolish flogging in Tanganyika."

It is kind of us thus to be willing to follow a long way behind most civilised nations, who abolished flogging in their own lands many years ago, long before we did, and who are now appalled at rumours (unfounded) that we shall return to that barbarous practice at home because old ladies still get hit on the head and robbed, as they did when they were protected by flogging.

This grave danger to old ladies was, of course to have been averted by the House of Lords when it saved the nation from the abolition of capital punishment in 1948. Lord Simon then said that if there were no death penalty, many women would wait with fear for the knock at the door.

He was blissfully unaware that far too many women are still waiting with hope for a knock at the door.

But I am wandering from the main theme; this matter of flogging, not at home but away. Whatever we may have done at home (and only prison officers now have the supposed protection of the cat) it was a rash and bold move to offer to remove flogging in a colony, where the people are only natives.

The important advance I want to report is not that we were willing to take that grave risk. There is more to come yet from that Reuter message. We offered to abolish flogging in Tanganyika, says the

THIS is the first of a series of articles in which ROBERT GREACEN will describe the lives and work of men and women who, in various fields of activity, are contributing to create the conditions necessary for a peaceful world.

Among future subjects in the series will be Albert Camus, Alex Comfort, Christopher Fry, Aldous and Julian Huxley.

The photo of Dr. Schweitzer is reproduced by courtesy of the publishers of Dr. George Seaver's "Albert Schweitzer, The Man and His Mind," A. and C. Black, Ltd.

## ALBERT SCHWEITZER

There are no heroes of action; only heroes of renunciation and suffering.  
—Albert Schweitzer

ALBERT SCHWEITZER is one of the truly great men of our time; medical missionary in Africa, musician and philosopher, he has achieved eminence in several fields of intellectual and practical activity.

Born in 1875, the son of an Alsatian pastor, he spent a happy but reflective childhood in the Münster valley. At nine years old he could deputise for the organist in the local church of Günsbach. As a boy his chief interests were history and natural science.

Schweitzer speaks frankly of his early faults—a passionate temper and argumentativeness—which had to be overcome by mental resolution (for it is a mistake to assume that the possession of "genius" dispenses with personal effort).

Behind that sense of humour which shielded him from the destructive impact of many bitter experiences to come, lay an unusual responsiveness to human suffering; he tells us of being "saddened by the amount of misery I saw in the world around me." From boyhood he patiently developed that sympathy for every living thing, bird and beast and flower, that later gave rise to his theory of Reverence for Life.

### TRY EVERYTHING ONCE

SAY what you like about the Government (and I could exude adjectives for five minutes without repeating myself), during the past few weeks it has taken what may truly be called a step in the right direction. It has been handing out income-tax rebates.

The step is unlikely to be repeated. It may even be retraced. Those who believe it represents conscience-money, or change of heart, will be disappointed. But it does show what could be done by any future Government sufficiently alive to public safety to give us back the money it spends on defence.

I mention this because two readers have presented their rebates to P.N. They will enjoy this. After standing by helplessly watching so much of their income wasted on means of making the world dangerous for democracy, they will enjoy being able, for once, to transfer a portion of the tax in the right direction.

Such transactions are unprecedented. They must feel like pioneers. I wonder how you would feel. It's a good idea to try everything once.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since June 20: £22 0s 5d.

Total for 1952: £408 11s 8d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, Blackstock Road, N.4.

message, "but the natives are opposed to the idea."

I do not rejoice about this. I rejoice about the fact that at last in these important matters we put first and foremost in our considerations, the wishes of the natives.

This shows what a good thing imperialism can be. I take it we shall in future always ask the natives whether they think anything we propose to do is a good thing; for instance, whether it is a good thing that the proposed new governing body for their land shall be mainly white. If the natives are opposed to the idea, the scheme will no doubt be abandoned, as reluctantly as we shall have to abandon the scheme to abolish flogging.

It is of course a normal thing in these matters at home for the wishes of the sufferers to be borne in mind.

It is well known that we do not abolish fox hunting because the fox enjoys it so. There is no other justification for the unspeakable to continue to chase the unteachable (Oscar Wilde, I think. No copyright, I hope).

And the good time to be had by all hares in coursing meetings is so popular that stuffed ones have to be piloted electrically round race courses to share the enjoyment of their live brethren. No doubt electric hares do enjoy the fun because they play such a joke every time on the dogs (man's most intelligent friend) and they can safely come up again for more next morning.

Anyhow, progress is in the air. No longer can barbarism triumph simply because the barbers like it, but only because the suffering victims prefer it.

When I am next asked that stock question "Have you stopped beating your wife?" I shall not need to hesitate about the answer. I shall say "No, she likes it. And I'd do anything to please my wife."

### ... then there is a paper shortage

"The press is always well-disposed towards me when I write about Psalms; but if I submit an article about peace—then there is a paper shortage."—Pastor Uffe Hansen, Danish pacifist, at a Scandinavian Peace Conference.

At eighteen Schweitzer entered Strasbourg University, setting himself to read Theology and Philosophy. He extended his childhood interest in the life of Jesus, so beginning a close analysis of the first three Gospels that resulted in "The Mystery of the Kingdom of God" and "The Quest of the Historical Jesus." A year's



ALBERT SCHWEITZER

military service in 1894 appears to have been occupied with theological rather than military matters.

He studied in Paris for his Doctorate in Philosophy. Of course during these years of intensive study he had not been neglecting his musical talent, so that when he presented himself as a pupil of the famous Parisian organist, Widor, he replied to the question, "What will you play?" with "Bach, of course!" One of Schweitzer's principal works is a critical biography of Bach.

After Paris came theological study in Berlin, where he began to notice for the first time "the growth of a peculiar intellectual and spiritual fatigue" in European society—and this at a time when most philosophers propounded the idea of never-ending progress.

By 1903 Schweitzer had been appointed Principal of the Theological College of St. Thomas in Strasbourg, a position scarcely dreamed of even by the most brilliant man of 28.

But years earlier, in 1896 in fact, he had resolved that for him happiness could not be considered a matter of course. He felt that a life of scholarship, teaching and writing and organ recitals could not be his because of the overwhelming need for positive action in alleviating human suffering.

Thus he had decided at the outset of his adult life that from the age of thirty he would devote himself primarily to the direct service of his fellow men as circumstances would best indicate.

## 50 m. UNEMPLOYED

### The future of India

50,000,000 Unemployed, by Michael Young  
A Labour Party pamphlet, 6d.

THIS is a heartening pamphlet, and the Labour Party is to be congratulated on publishing it.

Michael Young, recently made the Party's Research Adviser, paid a visit to India to investigate conditions there, and this pamphlet is his Report—published as an expression of personal views and not as a statement of Party Policy.

The aim is to widen knowledge and to stimulate discussion throughout the Labour Movement, and to help to clarify some of the problems which the Colombo Plan, now become the World Plan for Mutual Aid, is designed to solve.

The author sees the root of India's problem in her 50,000,000 unemployed peasants. The figure is a guess, as the count has never been taken, but it is not an overstatement. The problem is how to provide them with work and spending power.

### Towns or villages?

Naturally, in the first place, Michael Young turns to Western industrialism for his solution. His recipe? A big expansion of industrial investment and of services of all kinds, and a big transference of labour from the land to industry. Those left on the land would get larger holdings and better equipment, and so would give a greater agricultural output.

But there are snags. So impoverished are India's villages, that for a long time to come they would eat all they produced, and the swollen towns would go hungry. The author even thinks that it might be necessary to coerce the peasants as Russia did in the early days of the Revolution.

But there are worse snags, which the author does not mention. If only 10,000,000 workers were transferred to the towns, to absorb them would require 10,000 factories each employing 1,000. How long would it take to build and equip them, and at what cost? And who would finance them? India couldn't, and in fact only the USA could.

India would not allow her to do so even if she were willing (which is exceedingly doubtful) because India has a horror of financial imperialism, and whoever gave her large quantities of credit, would demand political and economic conditions! But supposing the 10,000 factories ap-

The call which stirred him most deeply came from the Paris Missionary Society which appealed for medical missionaries willing to serve in French Equatorial Africa.

Schweitzer decided to answer it, come what may. Consequently he resigned his post, to the astonishment of his Christian and other friends who urged that his many-sided talent would be wasted in ministering to a primitive people.

He was disturbed by such criticisms, especially when they came from those who theoretically subscribed to Christian doctrine; but he refused to alter his decision.

Thus he began his student days again at the age of thirty, determined to acquire yet another doctorate—in Medicine—for he would not rest content with a mere primary degree. During several years of hard study in a new field he supported himself by organ recitals and by writing.

Finally a medical doctor, with special qualifications in tropical diseases, he had to struggle to be accepted by the Missionary Society to whose call he had responded so eagerly. They feared his theological unorthodoxy, but Schweitzer gave an undertaking to confine himself to medical work.

Thus, with his wife, Schweitzer went to Africa on his supreme mission. As a white man he has attempted to atone for the wrongs that other white men have inflicted on the coloured races.

At Lambaréne he discovered that "pain is a more terrible lord of mankind than even death itself."

One learns of the appalling difficulties he faced from George Seaver's excellent biography, "Albert Schweitzer: The Man and His Mind." For Schweitzer, in order to carry out his medical work, had perforce to become architect and builder.

He has continued this work since 1912 but for a few visits to Europe to give organ recitals and lectures.

One "visit" in 1917 was for internment in France as a German national. Characteristically, Schweitzer formed a friendship with his Camp Governor who later used to write to him as "Mon cher pensionnaire!"

The fact that Schweitzer wrote his great work, "The Philosophy of Civilisation" (and other books) and practised organ-playing in his "spare time," while carrying out medical and administrative work in a trying climate, can be ascribed only to an extremely robust physical constitution, allied to an iron strength of mind. But the qualities of this great man that most compel our respect are his humility and his willingness to sacrifice himself for others.

He has written that "we should all take our share of the burden of pain which lies upon the world." Everyone must know in his heart that there is no other way to achieve peace and happiness for all men.

peared, the villages of India would not be able to buy what they produced, any more than they can to-day, so what would be gained?

To solve India's problem, work and well-being must be found quickly. But how? By way of the Gandhian economy; and by a stroke of luck, or fate, Michael Young stumbled on some examples of it—an experience which changed his whole outlook.

In the section "Self-help in the Villages" he gives us several clear convincing descriptions of villages being completely transformed by the simple device of self-help. It forces to the front this question: Why spend thousands of millions on factories and machinery, and several decades in making and building them, when a huge reservoir of labour lies at hand ready to be set to work with the aid of simple tools which could be provided at small cost?

What an opportunity for a Labour Government! With quite moderate grants under the World Plan for Mutual Aid, and a few men of Michael Young's type, in a very short time scores of thousands of dead villages could be transformed into living ones, full of vitality and hope, while creative labour would satisfy more and more of their needs, and thereby produce that inner strength which Gandhi predicted would lead to his "India of Village Republics."

### And without strings

These British leaders, co-operating with the Gandhian Pioneers, could work miracles inside fifteen or twenty years! Michael Young can scarcely hold himself in, so moved is he by what he saw:

"It has been shown that villagers have the remedy in their own hands. Full employment will not come as the result of financial action, or indeed of anything the Government can do, unless the co-operation of the villages is gained. The struggle will be won not in Delhi but in the village. And it will not be won by the individual action so revered by the West, but by the villagers acting together with advice from technical experts whenever they need it. . . .

"So policies for full employment, even more than in the Western countries, come not within the province of economics but of sociology, technology and politics. The great questions are not what can be done with interest rates, prices, purchasing power, or sources of saving, but what can be done to help the peasants to help themselves.

"It is therefore encouraging that the US Government agreed, in January 1952 to provide a few million dollars for the extension of self-help in the villages. The intention is to establish some fifty areas, each development area consisting of about 200,000 people in 300 villages. But the scale is still too small."

He adds that he does not believe small-scale projects should exclude large-scale ones, but that the two kinds should be complementary. With that I agree, as do the Gandhian workers, and as Gandhi did. The latter should serve the former, as by supplying them with their raw materials such as iron and steel, which they would use to perfection by their handicrafts.

### India's opportunity

Then, on the last page, we have these stimulating reflections:

"There is no reason to doubt that eventually the Indian people, with their great capacities will be able to reach whatever goal they set. . . .

"India has the opportunity to create a new society that will not be borrowed from the West but will be distinctly Indian and Asian. . . .

"India has the opportunity to raise material standards without falling victim to 'materialism'. . . .

"India can take warning as well as inspiration from the industrialised countries of the West, and this includes Russia as much as America. . . .

"The Americans, and to a growing extent the Europeans and the Russians, are striving so hard for material things that they forget that wealth is not synonymous with social recognition nor does it promote spiritual and emotional development. Their striving defeats itself because the richer they are, the more cars, refrigerators, whiskies and cigarettes they have, the poorer they are liable to feel. . . .

"The Indian can enquire whether Mr. Rockefeller or Mr. Ford, or Lord Nuffield or Lord Citrine, or Comrade Stakhanov or Comrade Mallick, enjoy lives of so much higher quality than the village peasant in one of the more prosperous districts of India. . . . Would it not be sensible to conclude that this is no path for India to follow—that India must abolish the terrible poverty of her villages and towns without landing herself in the new poverty of the West, the poverty of rich people who feel poor? And if the goal is made the simple life that Gandhi taught, India can show, an example which may help to resolve some of the drastic dilemmas of Western Society."

I wish every member of the Labour Party would read this pamphlet, and ponder, especially, its closing pages. I think they would then want to translate it into practical politics, and if they did that, they would make history, in ways which now seem but an impossible dream. In this policy is Labour's Alternative to War!

WILFRED WELLOCK



News from Birmingham

## 1. STUDENTS FORM PEACE SOCIETY

A PEACE SOCIETY has been formed at Birmingham University with Dr. H. G. Wood, formerly Professor of Theology, as President.

- The Society's aims are to
1. Study the conditions of peace and the causes of wars;
  2. Advocate the cessation by negotiation of wars at present being waged and the taking of other steps to lessen world tension;
  3. Stimulate the discussion of these problems; and
  4. Encourage and help to co-ordinate such practical contributions as may be made to their solution by members of the University.

The Constitution declares that:

"Membership is open to all members of the University who, believing that the cause of peace is a major cause of our time are prepared to explore together concrete means of promoting peace and preventing wars, without pledging adherence to any party or sectarian policy, and without taking sides in the present divisions of the world into two opposing camps.

All Birmingham students interested are asked to forward their names to the secretary: Miss E. Pinthus, The Peace Society, The University, Birmingham, 3.

Vice-presidents of the Society are M. B. Hobling, MA, P. W. Edwards, MA, D. J. McCracken, PhD, and B. Mayo, MA.

J. A. Vickers is Chairman; A. C. B. Smith Joint Hon. Secretary and R. G. Joiner Hon. Treasurer.

## 2. Peace Builders' link with Gibraltar

MEMBERS of Birmingham Peace Builders who go without food for 24 hours every month as a gesture of solidarity with the starving half of the world's population are being joined by a number of unknown friends throughout the world, one of them in Gibraltar.

In a circular letter to their contacts the Peace Builders ask how they can rouse the conscience of Westerners to the monstrous injustice whereby more than half of the world's children starve.

They quote E. S. Sachs' description, in his recent book, "The Choice before South Africa," of the abysmal poverty of the Transkei tribes:

"Only 4 per cent of the children have meat, only 5 per cent vegetables, while 80 per cent must live on one meal a day, consisting of maize only."

"We have been thinking about this a great deal," say the Peace Builders, "especially on our Brotherhood Day, when from 6 p.m. on the first Saturday of each month we fast for 24 hours, and pray for those to whom hunger is a daily reality."

"We do this partly in recognition of and repentance for our own guilt, but we also wish, by using this Gandhian technique, to make others think. Are we succeeding? It is so difficult to assess the results of such small efforts."

The money saved by fasting is sent to Oxford Famine Relief, 16 Broad Street, Oxford. The address of Birmingham Peace Builders is 135 Foden Road, Birmingham, 22a.

## Lettuce and beetroot will be welcome

"A SUMMER Get-Together and Bring and Buy Sale" is the title given to the London Area of the PPU's money-raising effort which is to be held on July 26 in the garden of Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, WC1.

There will be refreshments and a stall which those attending the gathering are asked to fill by bringing gifts for sale. Home-grown vegetables from members' gardens are suggested as one means of stocking the stall.

## Men v Women at cricket

A cricket match between men and women is planned for the London area Garden Party at King Alfred's School on September 7.

Those wishing to join either of the teams are invited to send their names to the London Area Secretary, Joe Rowley, at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, WC1.

## Poster paraders wanted tomorrow

A POSTER parade in support of the Peace Pledge Union's Trafalgar Square demonstration on Sunday against German rearmament will march through the West End tomorrow, Saturday.

All who wish to join in, either carrying posters or distributing leaflets, are asked to meet at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, Euston, WC1, at 10.15 a.m. for 10.30.

## IRENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

# "Neutralise the whole of Germany"

## 2,000 HEAR DR. NIEMOELLER AT DUTCH "THIRD WAY" MEETING

ABOUT 2,000 people attended a meeting held in Amsterdam recently to hear Pastor Martin Niemoeller speak in support of "The Third Way," a new peace movement founded in Holland last year.

A manifesto issued by the movement, which embraces both pacifists and non-pacifists, says:

"The Third Way Peace Movement aims at uniting in a common bond all those who are not prepared to accept the sentence of partition into two opposing camps which is now in process of being carried out in the world, because of their firm conviction that this partition must inevitably lead to war; those who are convinced that war can solve no problems but only move them; those who are convinced that this war can and must be prevented. . . .

"Only joint consultation by the many who are not hampered by vested interests of a material or ideological nature can open up a way of escape from the present impasse and lead the world to lasting peace."

Dr. Niemoeller, in his address, declared his belief that a "Third Way," such as this, was the only way which could save his country, Germany.

## Germany must live at peace

Germany, like Poland, Finland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Hungary, had a common frontier with Russia, and could only remain in peace if the frontier remained cool, and was not set on fire. It was therefore essential for her to find a way to live at peace with her Eastern neighbour.

For the benefit of those who believed that the Western Powers could win a war against Russia, he recounted conversations he had had before the war with leading military advisers of Nazi Germany, not one of whom believed that any Western power, or even the Western world as a whole under the leadership of the United States, could conduct a war against Russia with lasting success.

He repeated what he had said in the United States recently:

An American general with a strong army might succeed in capturing Moscow, in reaching and crossing the Urals, marching through Siberia, and crossing the Pacific back to the United States—but when he and his army reached New York they would find that they had all become Communists!

Communism, declared Dr. Niemoeller, is a very strong idea, and cannot be fought with weapons.

## Confession of guilt by clergy

Earlier in his speech he had reminded his hearers of the "Confession of Guilt"

## Briefly . . .

A MESSAGE expressing full support for the African National Congress in their non-violent struggle against race discrimination in South Africa was sent by the London Area Council of the Peace Pledge Union to the African leader, Dr. Moroka, last week.

The International conference on Non-Violence held in Perugia on January 30—the anniversary of Gandhi's death—arranged to call three further meetings in Italy this year.

The first, a discussion on teaching and psychology in relation to non-violence, was held in Florence on June 14 and 15. On September 12 and 13 there will be a conference in Perugia on non-violence and the animal and vegetable world, and on December 27 and 28 a gathering in Florence to discuss non-violence in social and political relations.

Those interested can obtain further information from Aldo Capitini, Palazzo Comunale, Perugia, Italy.

New Warden at the International Voluntary Service for Peace Hostel in London, The Hermitage, is Horace Holder, formerly at West China University.

The President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, speaking in Naini Tal on June 15, said that India would continue strenuous efforts for world peace, working to this end in the Gandhian way. Dr. Prasad was a former vice-president of the War Resisters' International.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation Summer Conference "Christian Pacifism—an International Faith" to be held at Darley Dale, near Matlock, from August 9 to 16, has been fully booked up for several weeks and there is already a long waiting list of applicants for accommodation.

The author of "Cry Korea," Reginald Thompson, and Mrs. S. O. Davies will be the speakers at a meeting organised by the Teachers for Peace Committee in Denison House on July 9 at 7 p.m. Title of the meeting is "The Threat of Modern War to Human Values." A film "Peace Will Win," will be shown.

which he and a number of his friends—mostly fellow-clergy—had made in Stuttgart in 1945. This referred not to the collective guilt of the German people, but to their personal guilt, as Christians, in not having put up a stronger resistance against Hitler and his Government between 1933 and 1945.

They felt that in every Communist and Socialist who was sent to a concentration camp and murdered, in every Jew sent to a gas-chamber, Jesus Christ was crucified again.

Out of this knowledge, he said, out of a deep pity for the poor unfortunate individuals who suffered in the cold or hot war, he and his friends had been driven to enter political life, and try to use their beliefs, and the strength which they drew from them, to bring a Christian influence to bear on the statesmen of the world.

The remilitarisation of Germany would make her a powerful factor, which would be used by both blocs in their struggle.

If war broke out, he believed that Russia would immediately attack the Ruhr with atomic bombs, because she could not allow this area, with its armaments factories, to remain under the control of the Western Powers.

The only solution, therefore, was the complete neutralisation of the whole of Germany, making her into a vacuum between the Eastern and the Western powers.

The manifesto of the Third Way Peace Movement—in English—may be obtained from Miss A. M. Schiltmeyer, 18a, Schouwweg, Wassenaar, Holland.

## U.S. PACIFIST TELLS REPUBLICANS—

## Your policy is incitement to murder

From James Finucane

"THE Dulles foreign policy is fitful incitement to a thousand murders in a dozen countries, in the service of an attempted counter revolution."

"I can't imagine its arousing enthusiasm or winning votes."

In these words, Frederick J. Libby, the Republican leader of the non-Partisan National Council for Prevention of War last week warned the Republican Party against adopting John Foster Dulles's foreign policy of what Mr. Libby called "cold liberation." Mr. Dulles is reported to be writing the Republic foreign policy plank.

## "Americans are weary of war"

Mr. Libby based his criticism of the Dulles policy on an unofficial foreign policy outline written by Mr. Dulles, and published in the May 19 issue of Life. The criticism was levelled in an open letter to the Republican platform committee.

"The majority of the American people are weary of hate and war and preparation for war," Mr. Libby asserted. "They want to look forward to peace and to prepare for peace, with its countless blessings for mankind."

"The party that is bold enough to meet the unescapable challenge of our times, the party that grasps the feel of this revolutionary age and dares to ride the revolution and guide it in constructive channels to great achievement—that party will win our election, put the Communists to flight, and, what is more important, will lead the world on the true road to enduring peace."

## GARRISON TOWN GETS ANTI-WAR PREMIERE

MUSHROOM CLOUD, a new play by F. J. Salfeld and Mary Neill, was given its first production by the Repertory Company at the Theatre Royal, Aldershot, last month.

Set in the home of Arthur Sloane, an atomic scientist, it has one scene in which Sloane's wife, and an artist friend, plead with him to give up his death-dealing work. He refuses, because being a weak man, he enjoys the sense of power and importance which the work gives him.

The rest of the action consists of a rather intricate double-triangle plot, with a little blackmail thrown in for good measure.

It is written in what the authors describe as heightened prose—a sort of metreless blank verse. This increases the dramatic effect at times, but at others the poetic expressions sound so out-of-place in the mouths of suburban characters that one hardly takes in their meaning.

John Springett, who played the scientist, did not seem quite at home in his part, but Hazel Douglas as his wife, Jill Marriott as her niece, and David Crosse as the artist friend gave very good performances. M.H.W.

## Teachers discuss— THE ADULT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

From Jone Burgess

"WE must never lose sight of the fact, that the adult-child relationship is a mutual influence, where the adult reacts to the child no less than the child to the adult," said Marjorie Mitchell in addressing a meeting of the Education Commission of the Peace Pledge Union at the Friends' International Centre, London, on June 21.

Mrs. Mitchell, who is Senior Lecturer in Biology and Health Education at the Maria Grey Training College, gave a brilliant survey of Adult-child Relationship in Home, School and Community, illustrating her talk from her own wide experience among parents, students and teachers.

## AUTHORITY

While stressing the ever-changing nature of the relationship, she underlined the importance and permanence of the home influence, "home" in its simplest form consisting of mother and child.

Most difficulties of adjustment to life in school and the community can be traced, she said, to disturbances of this basic relationship.

The problem of "authority" scarcely arises if the mother has treated her child not as an immature adult but as a person complete at each stage of his development.

From among the many illuminating remarks which distinguished Mrs. Mitchell's address the following may be singled out as high-lights:

... One of the father's special functions is to provide the mother with adult relationship. Where this is lacking the emotional relationship of mother and child becomes too strong.

... The difficulties of the child-teacher relationship may often be due to the fact that the teacher, being in a minority, has acquired many of the characteristics of a minority.

## AGGRESSIVENESS

... The tendency of many adults to suppress as "cissy" a boy's tender emotions may lead to the development of marked aggressiveness.

... Adolescents need to get out of school and do something real in the adult world.

... The long hours teachers are expected to spend alone in the company of children are bad for human relations.

... Schools without a head may give better child-adult relationships because the complication of a teacher-head relationship is avoided. . . .

## West Midlands Area, Peace Pledge Union

## ANNUAL GARDEN PARTY

SATURDAY, JULY 12, from 3 to 9 p.m.

Fircroft College, Oaktree Lane Birmingham

(1 minute walk from Bournville Green up Woodbrooke Road)

Speaker: Phyllis Vallance

## CHURCH OF ENGLAND PACIFISTS—

should be on the roll of their own pacifist society. Send a card for particulars to the

## Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

Newington Rectory, 59 Kennington Park Road, London, S.E.11.

## The Millennium

by the World Teacher

The Millennium, the Christian Communion, is the only practical policy which can give the world justice and peace, that is, national independence for those without it, doing away with war and giving the people social justice.

The World Teacher gives the truth about religion and politics and shows that the claim of the Church of Rome to be the one true Church of Christ, the teacher of the Divine religion, a Divine institution. Divinely inspired and infallible is true which makes all the opposing claims false ones. Their exponents cannot show that their respective claims are true nor do they make a similar claim to that of the Church of Rome.

He also shows that by means of the Divine religion and a moral form of politics the Millennium can be attained which makes all the existing forms of politics false ones. Their exponents cannot also show that they can give the world justice and peace as above which makes the Reformation and after largely responsible for the injustice and war of the present day and which is leading to the downfall of civilisation.

If publicity is given to a knowledge of the Millennium non-Roman Catholics will have no option but to become Roman Catholics as they will not be able to continue, conscientiously, to profess any other than the Divine religion. The world will also have to give up the existing forms of politics and adopt that of the Millennium as she will not conscientiously be able to continue to have injustice and war when she can get justice and peace by a change of politics.

It will be seen from the booklet that men evolve by means of religion, become civilised more or less, and have a civilisation, and by giving it up they degenerate, revert to barbarism and destroy their civilisation. There is, therefore, no justice, peace and civilisation to be had without Christianity by the cheap and easy means of the present day. More-over the interests of the upper classes are opposed to those of the people as injustice and war, if won, tends mainly to benefit the upper classes and deprives the people of their rights, whereas justice and peace obtained by the politics of the Millennium gives them their rights. The modern Democracy, Liberalism, Socialism, Marxian Communism and other politics are catchword ones, and only pay lip-service to the people as they cannot give them justice and peace, hence the opposition to the Millennium by the upper classes.

Men as a rule are by nature more animals than men as they are not amenable to and guided by right reason in their actions and do not hesitate to fight and kill one another for material ends, the strong preying on the weak and thriving at their expense. If they will not submit to be tamed and civilised by God and His religion it is not possible for them to do so for their own kind, as they themselves are not much better than other men. Therefore, without the introduction of the Millennium it is hopeless to expect justice, peace and civilisation—rather there will be their opposites.

Booklet 46 pages 6d (postage 11d) from W.T., 111 Belgrave Road, London, S.W.1.

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## PACIFISTS AT US BOMBER BASE

# "We came in a spirit of friendship —you reciprocated"

Pacifists from Birmingham, Canterbury, Cambridge, Shrewsbury, Weybridge and London assembled in Mildenhall last Saturday for the demonstration reported on page one. They travelled by cars whose drivers volunteered their services for the occasion. Below, one of the two pacifists who demonstrated at the main gates of the airfield, Connie Jones, describes what took place there

**DOROTHY MORTON** and I arrived at Mildenhall Aerodrome at 1.50 p.m.

Two civilians came towards us and said they were pressmen. They took our names, addresses and occupations, then asked a lot of questions as to who was organising the demonstration, its purpose, and what Dorothy and I proposed doing.

I suggested they watched, and they agreed; one moved off, and said to the other "just keep on talking for a few minutes."

Dorothy and I then spotted the poster-paraders coming, so I went up to the entrance gates, called to everyone within earshot. "We are demonstrating against all atomic warfare, and preparation for it." Then we lay down in the gateway, feet touching, and held our posters. The pressmen took photos.

Inside the gateway was an American service-man redirecting all traffic to another gateway; this had been going on for some time before we arrived I think. Also inside the gateway were several other GPs standing round the Guard Room; after a few minutes a jeep arrived with Military Police, and then another, and they got out and stood round the guard room looking at us.

Across the road was a Mobile Canteen with people standing round; near the Aerodrome gateway a small crowd of about a dozen collected, and there were other people watching from the gardens of the Married Quarters. There was a sentry by the gate, who made no attempt to stop us. There were no English police.

The Americans were expecting us, and my impression was that the sentries had strict instructions not to touch us.

I asked one of the paraders, Edith Adlam, who stopped to speak to me, if she would speak, and I would too; she addressed the spectators, and for about 10 minutes told them the significance of the bombing of the Korean power-stations and its disastrous effect on the Manchurians.

## It is time to rebel

Then I got up (Dorothy remained lying), and explained to them why we were doing this; the public conscience throughout the world was now blunted to warfare of the beastliest kind, and we wanted to open people's eyes to the evils of the atom armament race; sometimes the only way to wake people up was to give them a shock; that was why we were resorting to what might seem a strange method.

When the Spanish town of Guernica was bombed before World War II, the world was shocked by the loss of life; now daily we could read of destruction in Korea and not turn a hair. Somehow this degradation of human beings had got to be shown up;

somehow the vicious circle of arming and counter-arming had got to be broken.

Turning then to the GIs inside the gates, I told them that we were not anti-American, we were not anti-anyone, we were concerned for all mankind. We knew that they did not want to be in England, they wanted to go home, but had been conscripted and compelled to come to this bomber-base. It was time ordinary people became rebels against their rulers, however, and refused to be conscripted to destroy one another. God created us to live together, not destroy one another like beasts.

There was laughter when we lay down at the gateway; I reminded them what a pity statesmen couldn't sometimes laugh together, instead of conniving at secret treaties, or hurling abuse at one another.

"In fact," I said, "today we have proved here the point of what I am trying to persuade you now; that whereas violence brings forth violence, friendship always invokes friendship."

"We came today to demonstrate the power of non-violence to you; we came in a spirit of friendship, and you have reciprocated."

"We are not only conscious of the sympathy of those who are here listening and watching; we also observe that you do not try to stop us, in fact, that you too are showing the spirit of non-violence."

"This is the only alternative to war. Thank you for listening to us; we are going now to the town to hold a meeting in the market place."

We then gave out leaflets and joined the main poster parade.

## University of London Pacifist Association

To the Editor

WITH reference to the letter from the chairman of the London Students' Pacifists Society in your issue of June 20, I am pleased to be able to inform you that the society has now been recognised by the Collegiate Council as the University of London Pacifist Association. Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, has accepted the hon. presidency.

May I, through your columns, urge all internal, external and associate students of the University of London, to contact the secretary, c/o The London School of Economics, Houghton Street, W.C.2. We are planning a very ambitious programme for Michaelmas term, the success of which will be an important strengthening of the pacifist position within the University.

A. DEUTSCH,

Vice-Chairman,

University of London Pacifist Association.

## Up and Doing PN DRIVE IN SOUTH AFRICA

FOLLOWING the recently reported campaign in India for new Peace News readers we are glad to announce a sales drive in South Africa.

For several months the Central News Agency in Johannesburg have stocked and distributed a small quota of PN.

They have now undertaken to circulate one hundred copies each week for a trial period. These will be supplied on "sale or return" terms.

The help of every reader in South Africa is needed to spread the pacifist idea of non-violent resistance to oppression.

Please ask your newsagent to order a supply from Central Newsagency (PO Box 1033 Jo'burg) and display them; tell pacifist and sympathetic friends about it; if you can, buy extra copies and pass them on.

If, within the few months of this special effort, we can make Peace News publicly known as a paper with a unique contribution to make to the current troubles, much good may be done.

Suggestions from South African and other readers will be warmly welcomed

H.F.M.

Circulation last week: 11,800 copies.

## INDIA AND THE KOREAN PRISONERS

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU is reported to have denied knowledge of the plan referred to in last week's PN under which prisoners of war on both sides in Korea might be sent to India.

On this subject, however, he has told a press conference that if in any way India could be of use in finding a way out of the present impasse she would be happy to offer her services.

"India," he remarked, "is somewhat favourably situated because we have got friendly relations with both parties."

"That is the chief value of India coming into the picture. We can approach in a friendly way all parties concerned."

## The truth about germ warfare

In reply to a suggestion regarding the investigation of germ warfare charges Mr. Nehru said:

"For any proper investigation to be made it should be by a method accepted and approved by both parties concerned."

The investigation would be of use only if undertaken by scientists. The reports that had so far been made on the subject were by "unilateral, one-sided committees. They cannot be considered by others to be wholly impartial."

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## Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

**Friday, July 4**  
CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor St. (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. PPU.

**Saturday, July 5**  
LINCOLN: 3 p.m. 33 Beaumont Fee. Area Meeting. Don Roger, Organiser of Sheffield Family Service Unit, on "Problems of Families." Chair: Rev. John Jay.

**SHEFFIELD:** One day school at Longshaw, H.O. commencing 8 p.m. Reginald Reynolds, "Prospect for Peace." Participants from Winifred Eason, 6a Summerfield, 10. PPU.

**Sunday, July 6**  
BLACKPOOL: 6.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Peace. 30a Raikes Parade. "Quakers and Peace." Reginald Reynolds, SoP. Participants from Weybridge, 10. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3 p.m. Trafalgar Square. Public Meeting—"Britain, Bridge or Battlefield?" Emrys Hughes, Dr. Alex. Comfort, Victor Yates, Mr. Stuart Morris, Mona Bentin, Robert Horniman, Sam Walsh. Chair: Sybil Morrison. PPU.

**GLASGOW:** 7.30 p.m. Miller St. and Argyle St. Open-air mtg. PPU.

**Monday, July 7**  
HAMPSHIRE: 8 p.m. 12 Downside Crescent (close to Belsize Park Tube). "Germany revisited." For.

**Tuesday, July 8**  
RHONDDA VALLEY: Tonypandy Central Hall. Methodist Peace Fellowship. 2 p.m. Conference led by Rev. D. H. Gowan, B.D. 7.15 p.m. Public Meeting and Brains Trust. Question Master Rev. Kenneth G. Greet.

**Wednesday, July 9**  
BRISTOL: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Broadweir. News Commentary. PPU.

**Thursday, July 10**  
LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.  
HARROW: 8 p.m. Little Arden Cottage, South Hill Ave, nr. S. Harrow Stn. "The World Government." C.W.G.  
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. Sidney Billson on "PPU Purpose." PPU.

**Friday, July 11**

CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor St. (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. PPU.

**Saturday, July 12**  
ASHFORD, KENT: 3.30 p.m. 33 Bybrook, S.E. Area Mtg. 6 p.m. Co-operative Hall, High St. Public Mtg. Speaker: Sybil Morrison. PPU.

**BIRMINGHAM:** 3 p.m. Firecroft College, Oaktree Lane, Birmingham. Annual Garden Party. Speaker: Phyllis Vallance. PPU.

**Sunday, July 13**  
GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Miller St. and Argyle St. Open-air Mtg. PPU.

**Tuesday, July 15**  
MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Mount St. "Non-violence." Informal discussion. Manchester Central PPU. Secretary: Frank Hutton, 50 Merston Drive, Manchester 20.

**ST. ALBANS:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Upper Lattimore Rd. Dr. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, of New College, "The Christian and the State." For.  
RICHMOND: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd. E. Sheen. Edward Ashworth on "A Book of my choice." PPU.

**Thursday, July 17**  
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. Robert Horniman on "Asia and the West." PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.2:** 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

**Friday, July 18**  
CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor St. (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. PPU.

**Saturday, July 19**  
LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho. 6 Endsleigh St. Possible Next Steps. Discussion. Social Order Commission.

**Sunday, July 20**  
GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Miller St. and Argyle St. Open-air Mtg. PPU.

**Monday, July 21**  
PRESTON: 7 p.m. Orchard Methodist Ch. Platform discussion between Dr. Donald Soper, MA, BD, and the Rev. Edward Rogers, MA, BD, on the question "With what weapons?" Chair: Rev. Colin A. Roberts. For.

**Thursday, July 24**  
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. Bert Shipley on "Pacifism and Peace." PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.2:** 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

**Friday, July 25**  
CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor St. (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. PPU.

**Saturday, July 26**  
HIGH WYCOMBE: 3 p.m. Hughenden Manor Area Garden Party. Rev. Patrick Eggleston. For.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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MEETINGS  
INTERNATIONAL CLUB. Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute. 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

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TEACHERS FOR PEACE. "The threat of modern war to human values." Speakers: Mrs. S. O. Davies, Reginald Thompson (War Correspondent, Korea). Also film. Adm. 1s. Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, Victoria. 7 p.m. Wednesday, July 9.

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INTERNATIONAL WORK Camps for Peace. British branch of International movement requires Secretary for shorthand, typing and records in London office. Interest in international understanding essential. Salary by arrangement. Application form from Box 433.

PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Day-time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in to Peace News (STAMFORD HILL 2262), 3 Blackstock Road (above Fish and Cook, Stationers, Finsbury Park, N.4). WOODBROOKE: Resident cook required, preferably with institutional experience, to assist cook-caterer. Numbers average 70-80. 5 weeks holiday during the year. Write stating age, experience, etc., to the Warden, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.

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# What next in Korea?

(Continued from page one)

Government to press for an immediate meeting of the United Nations Organisation to reconsider the whole situation in Korea with a view to securing the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and the establishment of an international organisation for the purpose of relief and reconstruction in Korea."

This is the policy which, I believe, a very large section of the Labour Party in the country, if not the majority of the rank and file, think should be the policy in the light of recent developments.

## Intervention was a tragedy

There is now general recognition that as far as Korea is concerned the policy of intervention has been a tragedy. That is admitted by the military correspondent of the Manchester Guardian on June 25 in his article "Two Years of War":

"At first the United Nations seemed, above all, to be rescuing a regime which it had helped to create and recognised; later the dictatorial methods of the South Korean government and the brutalities of its police left an evil taste.

"Democracy of a kind may have been planted in South Korea after 1945 and without the war might have grown in fruitfulness but the war has weakened it."

So the war, instead of helping democracy in Korea, has had the opposite effect, which was not exactly what Mr. Attlee thought was going to happen at the time.

The article proceeds:

"Disillusion was bound to come because of the frightful damage and destruction in Korea. If 'liberation' by the Communists was followed by mass arrests, murder and expropriation of some peasants, liberation by the United Nations has been preceded by fire, bombs and blasts. Either way it has meant uprooting of families, death to countless thousands of villagers and refugees, and ruin to numberless farms and towns. For many Koreans, perhaps the majority, United Nations intervention has been a personal catastrophe."

The Military correspondent of the Manchester Guardian asks the question:

"Was intervention worth while?" and his answer is "although not for the Koreans it has been for others," and goes on to argue that in so far as the war has shown the Communist countries that America was prepared to join in a collective security war it has been justified.

## Increased tension

Even on this line of reasoning it is rather premature to argue that intervention in Korea has stopped World War No. 3.

Let us hope that the object lesson of Korea has been learned by the nations and their rulers.

On the other hand Korea has resulted in an increase in tension between East and West, was the prelude to the re-armament programme, and nobody yet knows whether it may mean the bombing and blockading of China.

## BRITAIN AND U.S. GET GERM WAR PROTEST

THE National Peace Council, last week, requested the British and United States Governments to issue a declaration that they will under no circumstances use bacteriological warfare.

"This plea," says the NPC, "is made on the understanding that scientific inspection and control of bacteriological war preparations would be impossible to devise in any fool-proof fashion."

"It is made in the conviction that, being a simple and unequivocal act of good faith, such a declaration could have great value in lessening the tension between East and West, and in acting as a beginning of an overall settlement."

## Baptists speak out on cadets and conscription

Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire Welsh Baptist Association recently passed a resolution stating that the re-armament programme would lead only to disaster and urging the churches to recommend their members to refuse service in military organisations such as the Home Guard and cadet units.

Another resolution, reports the Manchester Guardian, condemned military conscription and pledged support to all who objected to military service on the grounds of conscience. It urged that all Welsh objectors should have the opportunity of having their cases heard by local Welsh Tribunals and that the Welsh Appeals Tribunal be resuscitated.

Fellowship House, 38 Gordon Square, W.C.1  
Monday, July 14, 7 p.m.

## BAYARD RUSTIN

American pacifist leader and singer will speak and also sing negro spirituals

Admission free. Silver Collection.

Jointly organised by the London Committees of the FoR and PPU.

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Lord Alexander has talked about Korea as a rehearsal for a possible World War 3 and unfortunately there is a vast amount of evidence to show that the nations are nearer war today than they were two years ago.

But we have the admission that the intervention in Korea has been a personal catastrophe for the Koreans and from the point of view of the people we went to liberate it has not been worth while.

If the application of the principle of collective security in Korea has had these results in Asia ought not we to re-examine it before we think of applying it to Europe?

# The Korean war has lost its moral content

— VISCOUNT HINCHINGBROOKE

"THANK God for your courage," was the tribute paid to a speech by Viscount Hinchingsbrooke, Conservative MP for Dorset South, in the House of Commons last week during the debate on the bombing of the Yalu River power stations.

The tribute came in the form of an interjection from Mr. Harold Davies (Lab, Leek).

Viscount Hinchingsbrooke, who rose to speak towards the close of the debate on June 25, said that it was because we had not been sufficiently frank with the US in the past few years that we were in some of our present difficulties.

He continued:

In not speaking sufficiently frankly to the Americans I believe that we sometimes mistake the quality of mind of the average American citizen. The minds of young nations, like the minds of old gentlemen, are only moved by considerable events. I do not think that the nuances expressed through the quiet corridors of the Foreign Office are sufficiently telling when they reach the turbulent world 3,000 miles across the ocean.

It is all very well for our nation and for Western nations, schooled in an old tradition that established means of communication through chancelleries, to expect appropriate and important reactions to take place in the countries with which we communicate and to expect those countries to understand these nuances and devices. But if we want the United States to operate on a different principle, we have to express ourselves in no uncertain terms by forthright speech in the open and in the House of Commons.

I deplore the fact that for so long in this Korean war we have not had important representatives in the various centres in the Far East. The fact that we have not had them goes right back to the failure of the Socialist Government when the Korean war began.

It was their responsibility to set up the appropriate channels of communication with the United Nations and the United States so that from the very first British policy could be made apparent in the operations in Korea. They failed to do it, and I regret very much to say that in the last eight months of our Government we have failed ourselves to make the corrections which ought to have been made.

I cannot quite understand how it is that the Prime Minister allowed this situation to persist.

That we should have got into a situation where we have no control upon the United Nations in its actions than that, seems to me to be very serious indeed.

I trust most earnestly that as the result of the visit to Korea and to Washington of Field Marshal Alexander and the Minister of State important changes will be made so that the British point of view can be securely applied to the scene of operations.

## Eden spoke like a War Minister

I was, frankly, rather disappointed by the speech of the Foreign Secretary this afternoon. It was a speech which was more appropriate to a Secretary of State for War than to a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It was a speech that seemed to me to move almost too exclusively in the military field. It is politics and foreign statesmanship that really govern the question as it confronts us tonight.

My right hon. Friend spoke of the situation in North Korea, where there are these power stations which were overrun originally in the advance and were subsequently repaired, and then have been in the last few days heavily bombed. He said that that bombing action was justified because the power from them was used to supply airfields over the border of Manchuria.

The United Nations have been bombing airfields in North Korea which formerly contained those aircraft. It is not unnatural that the Chinese withdrew their aircraft from those airfields to airfields further back. If we continue to follow them up in this strategic sense, chasing the aircraft wherever they may be on the airfields and chasing the sources of the electrical power which feed their industries, it seems to me that the whole process is quite unlimited. It may go on for ever. It may go on by longer-ranged aircraft reaching out further over Manchuria through Mongolia until we find some day

that the Russians themselves are harbouring these Chinese aircraft. Then the full scale war will begin.

I do not believe that in present circumstances in Korea an opening up of the military strategy of the United Nations can possibly result in peace. Peace is of two kinds. There is the kind which comes about through unconditional surrender—or it can come about through a truce.

It can come about through the desire of both sides to get together and negotiate. That sort of truce, which rests on the willingness of both sides to come together, can only be obtained by peaceful processes.

You cannot obtain a truce by the processes of war. If you want unconditional surrender, if you want to launch full scale war against China and bring them to Panmunjom suing for peace, then bomb them to hell.

But, if you want them to come to the council chamber, negotiating with us in the United Nations for a truce, you must exercise the arts of peace. You must exercise infinite patience—[An Hon. Member: "Eleven months."] It is not enough. I would not mind paying negotiators a high salary for a whole lifetime to sit in those tents and in those conditions in order to conclude peace.

## UN should not wage war

I would not be advocating such policies at all if I thought that there was any high and moral advantage in continuing this war coming either to the United Nations or to ourselves.

Since we crossed the 38th Parallel it seems to me from the strictly United Nations point of view, based on the original sanctions and agreements, that the war has lost its moral content.

As a United Nations endeavour it seems to me to have no purpose now. It is producing an unending series of operations, or seemingly producing them.

I have always doubted from the very start—since the San Francisco Conference days—whether the United Nations was ever capable of being made an instrument of war, because it would inevitably divide the world into great groupings of Powers and produce war on a scale surpassing any that have gone before.

I have always hoped that the United Nations would remain as a truce-making organisation, devoted to peaceful persuasion and the art of good international relations.

Nor do I think that this war serves the British purpose in any degree. From a strictly selfish point of view we are getting nothing out of Korea. Indeed, since the war started great historical trading ties affecting the lives and fortunes of many of our people have begun to come to an end and may be ended altogether.

I do not think that from our own individual point of view there is anything to be had from going on with the war.

For those reasons I earnestly trust that the Foreign Secretary will recall again the splendid words he used when he went to Paris soon after the General Election and said that it would be his aim to conclude a series of definite and limited agreements with the Communist world, that it would be his aim to pacify public relations, to exercise the art of peace.

If he will consult those techniques and those opportunities I am perfectly certain that it will serve this nation well, and the cause of the United Nations also.

We are a country which has gone through two wars in one generation. We are in many ways an exhausted country, physically, morally, spiritually and militarily.

We need a long period of peace in which to build up our economic strength. We need our statesmen to exercise the arts of peace; and if the United States, in a different phase of development, in a different corner of the world, cannot march with us in those policies, then I think, much as I value the Anglo-American relationship, that we should begin gently but definitely to indicate to them that we cannot face the endeavours, and that it is not in our interest to face the endeavours, which they seem successfully to be able to endure.

# BARGAINING WITH BOMBS

The policy of patience and sweet reasonableness has had no effect upon the negotiators, so an alternative method is being tried. Behind the decision (Yalu raids) is the conviction that the Chinese are anxious for a truce and lack the capacity for a counter-attack.

—Daily Telegraph, June 25, 1952.

If their bombing saved one British life I am certain every father and mother will feel the operation was more than justified.

—Brig. Terence Clarke, M.P., Daily Telegraph, June 28, 1952.

WHEN the first atom bomb was exploded over Hiroshima, the newspapers of this country made it known in the accredited manner of the Press when there is a striking and staggering piece of news; that is, with huge headlines, very large print,

and the Leaders concerned only with comment on the event.

The first atom bomb not only shattered Hiroshima and destroyed tens of thousands of human beings, but it also shook the whole world to its innermost nerve centres. The long sought formula for splitting the atom, which would release for the human race unlimited energy for its progress towards freedom from want and from slavery, had at last been discovered, and its first use was not for the betterment of the human race but for the destruction of large numbers of them.

After the first shock came the second—an atom bomb on Nagasaki, and to its credit, the conscience of the Western World, already stirred by Hiroshima, began to show signs of rising to boiling point, and so at once the press and politicians commenced to "play down" the effects of the bomb.

They hastened to explain that certainly large numbers of people had been killed, and certainly the effects of radio-activity were as yet unknown, but however appalling the sufferings and sorrows of the inhabitants of these two Japanese towns it must be understood that "all is fair" in war, and that British and American lives had been saved.

The present re-action in regard to the bombing raid on the Manchurian power stations is very similar: the headlines, the shock, the subsequent dismay, the apology. It all goes along the same lines.

The emotions of ordinary, simple people, upset and concerned that a fearful "obliteration" bombing operation should have been undertaken while truce talks were in progress, have to be simmered down from boiling point, so it must be proved, firstly, that as there has never been a "cease-fire" agreement, any military action is perfectly legitimate, and secondly that such action may ultimately result in the saving of British lives, and is therefore justifiable.

The fearful fallacy in the "negotiation from strength" policy is revealed in these arguments; negotiation from strength is now shown to mean that negotiations must work out in the way the strongest side desires, and if not then that side gives overwhelming evidence of its power. In other words, negotiations on such a basis are nothing more or less than an "unconditional surrender" policy; either the terms are accepted or "We'll show you." Both sides can play at this game with equally appalling results.

As for the saving of lives, it should be obvious to the meanest intelligence that in spite, indeed it may be because of the atom bomb, thousands of British lives have been lost in Korea, and if the war there spreads to China and envelops the world in its holocaust, millions of British, American, Chinese and Russian lives will be swallowed in the cataclysm.

It is not the nationality of the dead that matters; it is the fact that human beings are dead when they should be alive. War is not and never can be a way to save life, nor a means of making peace. If Korea has taught anything at all it has taught this basic and ultimate truth.

It is time to stop this long drawn out attempt to bargain with bombs, and begin instead to make peace, not by truckling to tyrants either in the East or the West, but through a real suspension of hostilities, by disarmament proposals, by negotiation based upon a determination to find points of agreement and by the goodwill which will turn anger into understanding, and enemies into friends.

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